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THE  
AFRICAN REPOSITORY.

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VOL. XXVII—1851.

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PUBLISHED MONTHLY

BY THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

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# THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY.

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VOL. XXVII.]

WASHINGTON, APRIL, 1851.

[No. 4.]

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## Latest Intelligence from Liberia.

By the Barque Edgar, which reached New York about the middle of February, we have despatches from Liberia to the 7th of January, 1851; from which we learn that general prosperity prevails throughout the Republic. From the following letters, and the message of President Roberts, our readers will be able to understand the state of affairs, at the close of the last year.

It will be perceived that the authorities of Liberia have succeeded in amicably settling the late difficulties between the contiguous tribes occupying territory which was brought into the jurisdiction of the Republic during the past year; and that the liabilities of the Liberian Government for several highly important tracts of country, recently purchased, have been discharged. Every difficulty in securing *all* the territory on the northwest has been removed; and we doubt not that we shall soon be informed of the favorable termination of negotiations for

the extinction of the native title to the soil, as well as the relinquishment of political jurisdiction, of all the tracts on the northwest; so that the territory of the Republic of Liberia will embrace an unbroken line of coast from the mouth of the Shebar river on the north (which is near the southern boundary of Sierra Leone) to the northern boundary of the Colony of "Maryland in Liberia," the jurisdiction of which Colony extends about 100 miles along the coast; making the sea-board extent of the two Governments about 600 miles. This important line of coast being secured, there will be no difficulty in extending the interior boundary by purchase from the native proprietors as far and as rapidly as circumstances may require; without at all incommoding, but on the contrary, greatly benefitting, the aboriginal inhabitants, even if there should be an annual influx of immigrants fifty times as great as the present ratio of emigration.

If the necessary means shall be furnished for the transportation of emigrants, and the comfortable locating of them on their arrival, we are fully satisfied that Liberia can and will furnish a desirable home for all the free people of color in the United States, and all who may hereafter be emancipated,—a home in which they may enjoy all the privileges of a republican Government, which we believe is destined to occupy a high position among the nations of the earth; and in which they may literally as well as figuratively, set under their own vine and fig-tree; none daring to make them afraid.

#### Letters from Liberia.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,  
MONROVIA, Jan. 4th, 1851.

*Dear Sir:* I have only time to drop you a hasty note, by this conveyance, to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 24th of September, by the barque Edgar.

During the last five or six weeks, my time has been so incessantly employed in business connected with the Legislature, and other public matters, that I have had scarcely a moment to devote to letter-writing.

You will of course be informed by Gen. Lewis or Mr. Benson that the emigrants by the Edgar were landed at Grand Bassa, and are located at Bexley. As far as I am informed they are all, with a single exception, well pleased with their new home, and are likely to do well.

I have the satisfaction to inform you that we have just succeeded in terminating the wars, and restoring tranquility among the Veys, Golahs, and Boosas. We have also discharged our liabilities to the Chiefs (amounting to \$2,650) for the territories of Grand Cape Mount, Sugaree, Manna River, and Soloma.—We have yet to meet the payments for two other tracts; and to purchase a small strip bordering on the Shebar, to close our purchases in the northwest, which will require about \$4,000, and we look to you to aid us with about \$2,000 of this sum.

As yet we have received from Mr. Gurney only £500. The remaining £500 he informs me, shall be paid when we shall have purchased the whole coast, according to his original agreement.

I confess that I was not very sanguine, and I am therefore not so much disappointed that the last Congress did nothing towards acknowledging the Independence of Liberia. I hope, however, that during the present session, the subject will be brought up, and disposed of according to our wishes.

I thank you for the copy of the Report of the House Committee on the Liberian steam-ships. It is certainly an able report and cannot fail to demand the attention of Congress.

I cannot now give you minute details of the efforts to raise cotton here. I may venture to say, however, that the present prospects are decidedly encouraging.

In haste, I have the honor to be,  
most respectfully, your obt. servt.,  
J. J. ROBERTS.

Rev. Win. McLAIN, &c. &c. &c.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM GEN. J. N. LEWIS.

MONROVIA, Jan. 7, 1851,

*Rev'd and Dear Sir:* I had the pleasure of receiving your favor of the 24th September per Barque Ed-



gar. The emigrants by this vessel are located at Bexley, and I am told they are all, with the exception of one woman, perfectly contented.—I received no directions from the New York Colonization Society in regard to them, consequently did not meddle with them, further than to insist upon their being carried to Bassa; which, if I had not, it is not improbable but they would have been landed here. Mr. Roye, one of the charterers of the vessel, called on me to receive them here. I declined having anything to do with them, unless he could produce authority, authorizing him to place them in my care. At one time I thought they would be landed, which caused me to address a letter to Mr. Benson, advising him not to give way to the solicitations of any one, but to demand in plain terms that the immigrants and stores be landed at Bassa. I also, according to your direction, advised Mr. Benson to make preparations to receive the one hundred and fifty immigrants you expect to send out in the Packet. I am pleased that you intend to send a goodly number of immigrants to that country—it will have a good effect.

Grand Cape Mount, Sugaree and Manna River have been purchased since I last wrote you. We now have an unbroken line of coast to the Gallinas: Shortly the Gallinas, Cassy, and a small tract, bounded on the north by the "Shebar" will be purchased, which will then make that river our northern boundary line. We will then be satisfied.

The Legislature adjourned last Saturday. The act monopolizing tobacco, powder, &c., was repealed. The Commerce and Revenue law received considerable modification. I will send you a copy of the laws as soon as they are published.

I suppose you have heard that Her Britannic Majesty has in Monrovia

a consul. Is there any probability of your Government sending us one?

I must close, wishing you will excuse the brevity of this letter; as I am writing under fearful apprehensions as to the result of my boy's illness.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
J. N. LEWIS.

Rev. Wm. McLAIN,  
*Sec. & Tr. A. C. S., Washington City.*

LETTER FROM D. B. WARNER, ESQ., LATE  
SECRETARY OF STATE.

MONROVIA, Dec. 31, 1850.

*Rev'd and Dear Sir:* I owe you an apology for not acknowledging your favor by the Liberia Packet last year, and I hope this letter will be received as my apology, and will fully atone for my seeming neglect. My present occasion for writing is to express my great satisfaction and pleasure at seeing the many indefatigable efforts that are made to further the great cause of Colonization, and fully to establish in this country an asylum for my colored brethren. With exquisite pleasure I look forward to the day when civilization and Christianity shall be disseminated throughout the Continent of Africa, and the sons and daughters of this now benighted land, "shall own Jesus Christ as Lord, to the honor and glory of God." But to effect this great work, there must be a total abolition of the slave trade, and a raising up of holy and devout men, who will, through the aid of the Spirit of truth, convince the nations of the necessity of temperance, righteousness, and certainty of a judgment to come: And who more capable to act as instruments to bring about this great change of morals, than those who sprang from African stock! Missionaries after missionaries, men of talent and profound thought, have been sent out from America and elsewhere, to in-

roduce the gospel in this place: but they have all either died, or by the blighting disease of the land, been driven to their native home, without being able to mature their plans or prosecute their designs. These melancholy results go very far in proving, that God in his all-wise providence has reserved this great and important work (the civilizing and evangelizing of Africa) for her own sons and daughters. God in his wisdom permitted our forefathers to be carried from their native country to a strange land, where they had to learn manners and customs other than those peculiar to their own country; and now that we have become disciplined, and the fulness of time has come, he is returning us to our long lost home. I am perfectly satisfied with Liberia, and am willing to make it my home, and my children's after me. I emigrated to this country more than twenty-seven years ago, and am one of the company sent out in the Brig Oswego, in April, 1823. I will not tax your time to hear what I have endured from that time until now, but merely remark, that as soon as I became old enough to think and act, I set about assisting my countrymen in building up and improving a home which had been sought out for us by the benevolent friends composing the American Colonization Society. We have done in a few years, what other nations required a century to do; and in order that we may carry on our unparalleled undertaking, our faculties must either be improved or multiplied. The work is great, and we must either increase the workmen or improve the instruments. And what so well adapted to supply us with workmen as the great launching forth of those contemplated steamers? Had I time, I would on this occasion endeavor to show the great advantage it will be

to us to have so large a number as fifteen hundred emigrants sent out in one vessel. But that the undertakers or contractors will be able to procure sufficient homeward cargo or freight to enable them to carry out their views, is a question involving some doubt.

Now, in my concluding remarks, I beg to say that in 1843, I undertook and built for myself a sloop of 18 tons; since then I have acquired a more perfect knowledge of boat building, and have built four more. My last was launched in October last. I have sent you a model which I made to construct a small pleasure boat by, but have not had time to build her. You ought not to be surprised to find us first in the Government and then in the ship-yard—this is necessary to raise and build Liberia; and I think I can do as much good at present to my country in this way as in any other. It probably will look selfish in me to say that the condition of many persons coming here would be bettered were they to seek and follow some useful occupation instead of seeking for office. Our friend President Roberts is still exerting his utmost strength for the benefit of Liberia; and I think that his physical powers, from so great application of his mental, like the moon a day after her full, are beginning to wane: My friends Benson and James Moore are raising the coffee, and Mr. David the cotton, and I hope to have the pleasure of building the vessel to carry some of the coffee and cotton to the United States of America.

Your obedient servant,

D. B. WARNER.

Rev'd Wm. McLAIN,

Sec'y A. C. S. Washington, D. C.

LETTER FROM HON. S. A. BENSON.

BASSA COVE, Dec. 27, 1850.

Dear Sir: I am happy to inform

you that the Edgar, with thirty-one emigrants sent out by the New York State Colonization Society, arrived at this port on the 18th instant. The emigrants are all landed and comfortably located at Bexley, (at least for the present.) The Barque remained at Monrovia nearly a fortnight, during which time the intercourse of the emigrants with some of the people on shore had well nigh resulted in their obstinate refusal to come down. However, through the influence of Gen. Lewis and a few other gentlemen, and the fact that I was determined they should lose their rations (as I held the bills of lading,) provided they yielded to the persuasion of others; they came down at last, and on their landing unanimously,—with the exception of one old lady, and another who are dreaming of a return to the United States,—declared they liked Bassa exceedingly better than Monrovia, and that this place had been basely misrepresented to them, which gave rise to their reluctance to come down. Capt. Ellis on his landing was of the same opinion of emigrants. I think Dr. Smith will succeed well with them. I have repeatedly requested him to notify me of anything he thinks deficient in their comfort, &c.

I am looking anxiously for the company by the Packet, of which you have notified me. By the last Packet you no doubt learned of the obstructions to my progress at the Point. The Legislature has taken action on the subject, and has provided for its immediate settlement by one hundred volunteers—old settlers to whom grants of land will be made; and has appropriated two thousand dollars for contingencies; as no doubt from the hasty and treacherous disposition of Grando—a chief occupying there,—we will have to chastise his people. I have,

however, constructed ten good houses on an eligible and most healthy spot, embracing ten acres, which I may now announce as ready for emigrants. They are built not far from where I reside—a mile or so—towards the Point. Dr. Roberts examined the houses and location at my request, last October, and pronounced the location an excellent selection, and the houses when completed, sufficiently comfortable.

As soon as the Legislature shall rise, and the volunteers occupy the Point, and I can direct the building of some houses, my purpose is to proceed right for the interior, which I hope will be at farthest early in February. I suppose you are aware that the New Jersey Colonization Society has concluded to establish a settlement in the interior of Bassa, twenty-five or thirty miles from the sea, near the mountain region. It will, I feel confident, prove an excellent thing for Liberia. There is no question as to the superior healthiness of the interior, in the mountain region. Several of our citizens have frequently gone back there to recruit their health, and have succeeded admirably well,—Hon. Jno. Day, myself and others. You may judge from my letter to you by the last Packet, under date of September, that the inhabitants of this county were contemplating something of the kind—that they were convinced of the propriety of such a settlement, or at least more intercourse with the interior. But little did we know at our county meeting in August last—for the purpose of effecting explorations of the interior—that similar measures were being adopted by the New Jersey Colonization Society. So you may judge that the communication and means—amounting to about \$130 to defray the expenses of an exploration, &c.,—sent out by the agent of said



society, were quite opportune. Our people, though poor, made up, with some assistance from foreign traders, over \$100 last August. The report of the Naval Committee, and the Repositories came safe to hand, and were quite a treat. I always have a keen appetite for the good papers and periodicals of your country. As I shall write you more fully, likely by the Packet, I will close this sheet.—I hope you will be able to make it out, I have not time to copy.

Most respectfully,

STEPHEN A. BENSON.

Rev. Wm. McLain.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ROBERT  
WOOD,

REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA,

*Monrovia, Dec. 6th, 1850.*

*To the Rev. William McLain, S. A. C. S.*

RESPECTED SIR:—The barque Edgar leaving this port for America, and entertaining the greatest esteem and regard for yourself and the friends of emigration, I deem it a pleasing duty, whenever an opportunity offers, to take the benefit of communicating with you. As to the progressive state of Liberia, it is indeed a theme pleasing to myself, to write or speak of our beloved country, as my future prospects are identified with the inhabitants of this Republic. A man that would not love his country deserves to have no place as his home. We are free and enjoy the shade of our own orange tree, thanks to the friends of Liberia in the U. States of America; posterity will have to rejoice that such an enterprise was ever contemplated and carried out by benevolent and philanthropic men.

The Senate and Representatives were in Legislative sessions, from the 2nd of December to the 4th of January. The President's message was very interesting. You will no doubt receive a correct copy. I am

happy to state we have Her Britannic Majesty's Consul residing at Monrovia—the honorable Augustus William Hanson. This will prove auspicious for this country.

The President was applied to for protection by the Vey tribe of Grand Cape Mount, they being involved in war with other tribes. He judiciously appointed two Commissioners to proceed in the revenue cutter to arrange the difference. The matter has been settled to their satisfaction. The whole territory of Grand Cape Mount, from the sea-shore inland about fifty miles, and about seventy miles of sea coast, have been legally purchased from the chiefs for equitable valuation. Thus are we extending our country to receive Africa's exiled children. Liberia has indeed provided an asylum for every colored man, let him come from any quarter of the world. Ethiopia is stretching out her hands unto God. May the glorious gospel of the Son of righteousness shine upon these heathen tribes we are surrounded with, that the time may not be far distant when none may say to his neighbor, Know ye the Lord; but all shall know him, from the least to the greatest.

I have been mercifully preserved in health and strength since my arrival, and continue so; hoping this will find yourself and the friends of Liberia in the enjoyment of heaven's blessings, is the sincere prayer of

Your obedient, humble servant,  
ROBERT WOOD.

LETTER FROM H. J. ROBERTS, M. D.

MONROVIA, 28th Dec. 1850.

Rev. Mr. McLain :

DEAR SIR:—By the barque Edgar, I was gratified to hear from you.—The company by her arrived in pretty good health. After visiting Monrovia, they almost unanimously refu-

sed to proceed to Grand Bassa. Finally, however, they were persuaded to go down, and decide for themselves, and upon arriving there, I am informed, they were well pleased with the place. Dr. Smith being at the time of their arrival at Monrovia, proceeded with the vessel to that place, to attend them. I am quite hopeful that they will do well; indeed, I feel well assured, that if they will act prudently, and attend strictly to the advice which the Doctor will give them, they will do well.

In reference to the last company by the Packet, now under my charge, having been out now nearly four months, I am happy to say they have gotten along very well. Of the number, one old gentleman named Ellis, from Charleston, S. Carolina, died of *apoplexy*, the evening previous to the Packet's departure; but as my letters were all closed, I could not then make mention of it. I have lost two children in the fever—one, infant of Mr. Nimmo of Norfolk, Va., and the other the infant of Mr. Bush from the same place.

The Rev. Dr. Wood employed Dr. Baker to attend on himself and family, consequently withdrawing himself from my medical charge. He has lost his wife. He is doing pretty well at present. Since the death of his wife he has been under my charge.

This company came out in a very favourable season of the year. But since the breaking off of the rainy season, the most of them have been quite sick and some of them very ill, but they are now convalescent.

The report of the committee I find, quite favorable for getting into operation a line of "Steamers;" and should such a plan be brought into operation, I doubt not it will be of immense benefit to this Republic; provided the necessary provisions are made for such a great influx of

population, which of course will be duly attended to.

Yours, respectfully,

H. J. ROBERTS.

LETTER FROM J. S. SMITH, M. D.

BASSA COVE, LIBERIA,  
December 20, 1850.

DEAR DOCTOR:—I am truly glad that we have at last, though with difficulty, succeeded in getting a few emigrants to stop at Bassa; and the only fault I have to find is that the number is too small. I really wish that a hundred more had come in this expedition; as the situation of this country loudly calls for emigration. I regard Bassa as favorable a situation as any other at which emigrants generally can be located at present in Liberia. It is an inviting field, where industrious and enterprising men can find ample scope for the exercise of strength and ingenuity. You are aware that it is the best palm oil and camwood country of which we have any knowledge. And why it is that emigrants come here with such reluctance, I cannot tell; unless their minds have been poisoned by a few persons of the meaner sort at Monrovia, who take a peculiar pleasure in influencing all the emigrants to stop there, irrespective of circumstances.

I will admit that a few superior mechanics may find it to their advantage to stop at Monrovia, especially stone masons; but I do think that it would not be to the advantage of all mechanics to stop there. A few *superior* workmen may stop there, and command a good patronage, if they pursue the proper course to obtain it. But it appears quite a difficult matter to persuade the *cobblers* who generally come to Liberia, that it is necessary sometimes to be "Jack at all trades"—to farm a little and cobble a little, here as in all

other new countries; and they are often contented to work half of their time at their "trade," and to loiter about "for work" the other half, while their own land whose trees have not been felled by the woodman's axe, and whose bosom has never been made to heave by the farmer's hoe, to yield the luxuriant and highly valuable productions of this goodly land, remains uncultivated.

As there appears to be a magical influence that bewitches emigrants in the first place at which they stop, would it not be advisable for the Society hereafter to pursue the same course at Bassa that was adopted with some of the expeditions for Sinou, with great satisfaction to all concerned—that is, send emigrants direct to the place of consignment?

I am happy to inform you, that notwithstanding the stern opposition of the emigrants by the barque Edgar to leave Mouravia for Bassa, they have expressed themselves as being well pleased since their arrival, and have given the preference to this county. At this I am highly gratified; as Bassa needs emigrants, and Monrovia, or more strictly speaking, Mesurado county, does not, at present:—I do not mean to be understood that that county cannot receive more emigrants—far from it; but I mean that Mesurado county is not suffering for emigration, while

Bassa county is. As for Sinou county, she has been highly favored with emigration. It has been my privilege to attend and conduct through their acclimation, in that county, nearly five hundred emigrants since April, 1849; and I am willing to do the same for Bassa; and after that I shall not be particular where emigrants go. I pride myself in being a Liberian—strictly speaking, not belonging to any particular county, though I have greater interest at Monrovia than elsewhere, having relatives and property there—consequently I am desirous that emigrants coming to Liberia should be located where they can be of most service to themselves and to the country.—I consider emigrants, generally, as beginners in life; and I believe that this county (Bassa) affords many inducements to beginners, as there are many important stations unoccupied, and there is less competition than in the "upper county." What may be said of Bassa in this respect, may with equal propriety be said of Sinou; but I believe that the trade here has not been so much injured by foreign competition as at Sinou; and I think that the citizens of Bassa generally pay as much attention to agriculture as is done in any other part of the Republic.

I am, dear sir, yours truly,

J. S. SMITH,

J. W. LUGENBEEL, M. D.

### Sailing of the Brig Alida.

By the following notice from the New Orleans Crescent, it will be perceived that the expedition from New Orleans sailed for Liberia on the 12th of February, in the brig Alida—139 emigrants, a list of whose names, ages, &c., will appear in our next number.

We are trying to get up another expedition, to sail from New Orleans some time during the spring. We hope our friends will give us all the information in their power respecting persons who wish to emigrate.

DEPARTURE FOR LIBERIA.—The expedition sent out by the American and the Louisiana Colonization Societies, sailed last evening on board the brig Alida, chartered for the purpose. The occasion was celebrated by the assembling of a large number of the friends of the society and of the emigrants on board the ship, and by exercises of an exceedingly interesting character. An address was made to the emigrants by Rev. Mr. Pease, agent of the American Colonization Society. He gave to the emigrants advice respecting their



conduct on ship-board, and the course they should take upon reaching Africa; advising them to settle upon farms that would be furnished to them, free of expense, in preference to remaining in the city. After commending them to the care and blessing of God, he bade them farewell in a very feeling address.

The exercises were rendered more deeply interesting by the presence of Mr. Rice, of

the parish of St. Mary, who has generously liberated some thirty-three slaves, belonging to the expedition, and paid all their expenses of outfit, passage and support for six months, at a sacrifice and expense of about \$20,000. Such instances of a noble-hearted liberality in connection with such a cause, deserve to be held up for the imitation of others. The Alida takes 139 emigrants.—*N. O. Cres. Feb. 13.*

### Speech of the Hon. H. Clay.

*Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Am. Col. Society, January 21, 1851.*

GENTLEMEN OF THE SOCIETY: I have been told it is expected on this occasion that I should say a few words. Few they must be.

This I think is the 34th year of our existence as a society, either in an unincorporated form or incorporated. Of all those who assembled here some 34 years ago to lay its foundations, I believe I am the sole, or almost the sole survivor; and I have reason to be thankful, as I am, to God, for sparing me so long, and for enabling me to witness the progress and the success of the Society up to this time.

I have so often addressed it or other public assemblages, upon the subject which engages the attention of this Society, that really I should have but little to say, if passing events, and especially those which have occurred during the year which has now just closed, did not suggest some upon which I can say a few words.

And in the first place, gentlemen of the Society, allow me to congratulate you upon the whole current of events of the past year, in reference to the Society. It is not my purpose to anticipate what will be disclosed by the reading of the annual report by the secretary; but I may be allowed to say that all the operations of the Society during the past year have been unusually successful and have been greatly blessed. The number of emigrants exported to Africa has been greater than any preceding year, if my infor-

mation be correct. The amount of money received by the voluntary contributions of those who favor the Society and its objects, has been greater than in any preceding year, and I think I do not mistake the signs of the times when I say that a degree of public favor has been excited in favor of the Society in all parts of the Union to an extent much greater than we have heretofore witnessed. Indeed, gentlemen, some of the very causes which have led to great agitation, to uncommon excitement, and to serious apprehension in respect to the institutions of our country,—those very causes themselves, a happy termination of which I hope has taken place—have conduced to the advantage of the Society; for if I am not mistaken, that portion of the general community from which we experienced the greatest opposition to the proceedings and success of this Society,—I mean the abolitionists of the North—or at least all the moderate and rational portion of them, have become satisfied that to agitate the subject of slavery with a view to the extinction of slavery within the bosoms of the various States in which it is tolerated and exists by law, is vain, fruitless, and a failed effort—that the further agitation of the subject neither benefits those interests intended to be promoted, nor benefits the country at large; that it is a complete failure, and that their exertions hereafter, if governed by mo-

tives of humanity and benevolence, should be directed, not to an unattainable object, the extinction of slavery within the States, but to the great purpose of colonization which in its ultimate consequences will lead to the final separation of the two classes of persons that now inhabit this country. (Applause.)

There are circumstances of interest, and of great interest to the Society which have transpired in the course of the past year. The first of which that I would advert to, is the proposition submitted to the House of Representatives during the last session and renewed at this, to establish under the sanction and auspices of the Government a line of steam packets, which plying regularly between the United States and Africa and other points, shall furnish the means of transporting emigrants from this continent to Africa. It is not merely the submission of such a proposition, but it is the degree of countenance and support which I think I am authorized to say it will receive, whether it shall fail or pass during the present session. If it fail I shall never despair; for, gentlemen, "despair" is a word not in the vocabulary of the Colonization Society. (Applause). We resort to no formidable, violent measures, in the pursuit of our object. Mild, temperate, moderate, exciting no apprehensions, it appeals to Heaven for the continuation of that countenance and support which it has hitherto deigned to extend to us.—These are our principles, and with these and perseverance, success in my opinion is beyond all human doubt. The proposition for a line of steamers, gentlemen, has been renewed, and I am happy to say what is generally known, at least to the community of Washington, that it is in the hands of a gentleman from one of the slave-holding States

himself, (Hon. F. P. Stanton, of Tennessee), who has pursued it with an earnestness, and a zeal, and a determination which entitle him to success—which entitle him at least to the thanks of his country for the exertions which he has made. (Applause).

Colonization is a common object for the common benefit of the whole country. It has nothing sectional in it, nothing selfish in its aims. It does not seek to disturb or convulse society. It does not deal with property or the rights of property. It proposes only to concern itself with those who being already free, have the right to determine for themselves whether they will or will not go to the shores of Africa where they can enjoy social, political, and moral advantages which they never can enjoy in this country. Having a common object for the common benefit, it ought to be prosecuted by the common means of all those who are to be beneficiaries of Colonization; and I believe it will be found, though this is not the occasion for the discussion of such a question, that looking into the power of the Government either directly or indirectly, the Constitution of the United States grants ample authority for the performance of this common duty for the common benefit of the country, (applause.) I congratulate you, gentlemen, upon the presentation of such a proposition, and I hope that now or at some future and not distant session, I shall be able, if alive, to congratulate you upon the success of the proposition.

Other circumstances have occurred during the progress of the past year which deserve a passing notice, and amongst them, and I may say it is not the least important, is that, under the authority and instruction of Government a competent individual (the Rev. R. R. Gurley) was sent to Africa



for the purpose of collecting statistical and other information connected with the interests of the Society—a man well known to us, faithful to the cause, zealous, able and indefatigable in its support. After going to Africa and remaining there for several months he returned, and the result of his labors and the amount of information which he collected during his absence from this country is contained in a volume which has been printed under the authority of the Senate of the United States, and which deserves general diffusion. The result of it is that nothing but hope and encouragement are held out as to the prospects of the Republic of Liberia, and the other colonies on that coast. I trust that the widest diffusion will be given to the circulation of that work; for wherever it is read, I am persuaded that the conviction will be shared in by all, that colonization is not an idle, visionary, and impracticable scheme, but one full of encouragement, of benefit, and of hope. (Applause.)

Another circumstance deserves a moment's notice, and it will I trust command the very particular attention of the Board of Managers. I allude to the death of an individual of a vast estate at New Orleans, and the bequest to the Society of \$25,000 per annum during a period of 40 years—the late Mr. McDonogh of that city, who was personally known to me. We have seen in the newspapers evidence of an attempt on the part of those who are interested in the destruction of that will, to destroy it on the ground of its legal invalidity. I have not examined the subject with that care which would enable me to pronounce an opinion professionally on the question; but I have looked a little into it, and have talked with some who are more familiar with the subject than I am, and the result of my

reflections is, that whatever may be the fate of other parts of that will of Mr. McDonogh, this part, which contains a bequest to this Society, will be sustained and upheld by the courts of this country; and if so it will add vastly to the amount of means which can be employed by the Society in the prosecution of its great objects.

Gentlemen, I will not detain you longer upon the subject of special or particular circumstances or occurrences during the past year. But you will allow me before I sit down, to advert for a moment or two to the great object which engages our thoughts and our anxieties. I have said, and said recently upon another occasion, what I sincerely believe, that of all the projects of the existing age, the scheme of Colonization of the African race upon the shores of Africa is the greatest. In saying this, gentlemen, I did not look at its present condition. I did not look at what it may be ten, fifteen, or twenty years hence; but I endeavored to throw myself in advance and to look at what I believe it will be some fifty or one hundred years hence—what it will be when the continent of America shall have discharged itself mainly of the greatest portion of the African race, and shall have returned them back to the continent of Africa, the original home of their ancestors, and shall have rewarded Africa for the injuries which her sons have suffered, by sending back to their original country a race of men endowed with all the attributes of civilization, of christianity, of arts, of all the benefits in fact which belong to our own race. In making this statement, allow me in order to prevent any misconception or misrepresentation of it, to state what I mean more especially. This Society has constantly protested, from its

origin down to the present time, that we have not, do not, and never will interfere upon the subject of slavery as it exists in the several States. It is no part of our purpose or office to do that. But we know that the number of free people of color now in the United States, amount in all probability to no less than about half a million, and that they are annually increasing both by natural causes and by voluntary emancipation on the part of the owner of slaves. We know that the amount will continue to augment from this time forward unless it is lessened by sending to Africa a portion of this race. But this is not all I mean. I believe, and I have as much confidence in the belief as I have in my own existence, that the day will come—distant, very far distant, perhaps, from the present time—but that the day will come when by voluntary emancipation and by the acts of individuals and of the States themselves, without any usurpation of power on the part of the General Government, there will be an end of slavery. Slavery may find its termination in different modes. It may by law. It may by the sword. It may by the operation of natural causes, and it is the operation of natural causes to which I look for its ultimate extinction. As to the sword, nobody I trust would think of the employment of that to put an end to slavery. And as to law, I believe I have had some experience on that subject in the State to which I belong. The question was very much agitated there during the year before last, and I am very much reconciled to the decision of my State although it was contrary to my wishes; in that decision however I acquiesce, for I believe that no safe mode of gradual emancipation by the operation of law can terminate in any one of the States the ex-

istence of slavery much, if any sooner than it will be terminated by the operation of natural causes. But I may be asked what is meant by the operation of natural causes. I mean this. Upon one occasion, some twenty years ago, I went more at large than I feel now at liberty to do, into this subject; I went into the *modus operandi* of these natural causes by which in a long time, I am of opinion, there will be an extinction of slavery. There will be an extinction of slavery whenever the density of the population in the United States shall be so great that free labor can be procured by those who want the command of labor, at a cheaper rate and under less onerous conditions than slave labor can be commanded. Although I cannot fix the time when this will occur, I can state the conditions and circumstances under which, when it does occur, there will be a voluntary manumission of slaves. It is not to be by any enforced usurpation or legal action of the General, or any other government at all, but by the voluntary consent of the States and individuals of the States which are alone interested in the subject of slavery, and which have exclusively the right to determine when and how it shall cease to exist. Whenever then you can show to me—and that time will come—that our population shall be three or four times as great as it is, and that will not be a very long time, when we measure time not by the duration of individuals or particular lives of persons, but by the period of national existence—whenever the time comes, as it will come, that our population shall be three or four times as great as at present, that the prices of labor, the wages of manual labor, shall be so reduced that it will be too burdensome on the part of the owners of slaves to raise them for the sake of

the labor they perform, whenever it becomes the interest of the slave States and the slaveholders to resort to another kind of labor than that which is furnished by slaves—whenever that epoch comes there will be a termination of slavery. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, I am not about, as I said before, to specify the time that this is going to happen. I cannot do it; but I would repress if I could the impatience of those who are unwilling to wait the slow operation of the means and instrumentalities which God and nature furnish in order to accomplish the great purposes of His Wisdom. (Applause.) I would ask them to repress their impatience, to have more dependance upon the wisdom and providence of God than upon their own limited passions and circumscribed reason. (Applause.) What, in a national point of view, is a century to a nation? Nothing. It took two centuries and more to bring from the shores of Africa her sons now existing in a state of slavery in the United States. It may take two centuries, more or less, to transport their descendants to such an extent as no longer to create any solicitude or anxiety about the few that may linger and remain behind. It may take some two centuries to carry them back; and what, I repeat again, is this in the great workings of national existence and the administration of the affairs of this world by the Providence that controls, directs, and governs them? (Applause.) Gentlemen, I have thought and I have said, that if there ever were a scheme presented to the consideration and acceptance of men which in all its parts, when analyzed and reduced to all its elements, presents nothing but commendation, it is the scheme of African Colonization. (Applause.)

Let us look at it for a moment in rapid detail. In the first place, with respect to the free people of color in the United States. Do you not all know—I wish with respect to these poor creatures to say nothing to wound their feelings, nothing which is not warranted by truth and experience, and sad and daily observation, for it is not their fault, that they are a debased and degraded set. It is not their fault that they are more addicted to crime, and vice, and dissolute manners than any other portion of the people of the United States. It is the inevitable result of the law of their condition. The whites themselves, if placed in the condition of the free people of color in the United States would like them be addicted to vice, and would be exposed to the perpetration of crime in the same way that they are. It is inevitable, I repeat it, from their condition. Look abroad. Look at the annals of our criminal jurisprudence in this country, and in this very city. Look at the daily reports of trials before our Criminal Courts, and who are the subjects of them? Why, a vast majority are free people of color, although the free people of color in comparison to the total aggregate of the whites in this city, are only about one-fourth. Look abroad at the penitentiaries and at the criminal jurisprudence throughout the whole country, and you will find that the proportion, of those who commit crimes and are sent to the penitentiary, of people of color, is infinitely greater than those of any other of the race that compose the aggregate of our population. If this then be, as I have stated, the result of their moral, political, and social condition in the United States, will they not be benefited by going to a country where they will be no longer subjected to the afflicting causes of vice and dissi-



pation? Will they not be benefited by going to Africa? Why, gentlemen, it is no longer a question to be solved. The fact speaks out for itself. There already exists a community of blacks carrying on a Government, establishing schools, erecting churches, making laws, promulgating State papers, and in all these respects they will vie and advantageously compare with any one of the States of this Union.—As it respects the free people of color, therefore, nothing but good, and unmixed good, can result from their separation from a community with which, in spite of all the philosophers in Europe or America, from the nature of our feelings and prejudices if you please, they never can be incorporated, and stand upon an equal platform. I do not believe it was ever intended that they should be. If we are told in respect to one of the most intimate and important relations in human life, the relation of marriage,—and it is always pronounced on the performance of that ceremony—that those whom God has united let no man dare put asunder, I think I may with equal propriety say “let those whom God has kept asunder by their physical condition, by their constitution, by their intellects, by their nature, by circumstances upon which it would not be fitting for me to dwell in this place, not be attempted to be united by any presumptuous human power.” (Applause).

They, as I have said, then will be benefitted; and who else? Will not the white laborers of the North be benefitted, essentially benefitted, if the black portion of the laboring community is sent to Africa and they are relieved from all competition with them? Go to the cities, and in all of them you will see the struggles which exist there between white and black labor. Even in la-

bor itself there is an indisposition on the part of the white man to mix and mingle with the black; and you will see whether driving a dray or performing any of the laborious offices of society in large cities, the black man is trodden down to a certain extent, and kept in subjection by the superior power of the white man. The white man of the North will be benefitted. The white man of the South will be benefitted.—The slaves of the South will be benefitted. We all know, who know anything of slavery, what corrupting influences are exercised over the slave population of the South, by the neighborhood and intercourse which have taken place between them and the free people of color. They are led off, seduced away, intoxicating liquors are sold them, and they are induced to commit acts of petty larceny against their masters. Indeed every species of irregularity results from the intercourse between the more dissolute portion of the free people of color and the slaves in the slaveholding States. The white man of the North, the white man of the South, the slaves of the South, all, all would be benefitted by that separation which is proposed ultimately to be effected by the Colonization Society. And, gentlemen, if we quit our own coast and go to that of Africa, how much is there to animate the Christian bosom and to encourage us in the prosecution of the great scheme in which we are engaged. There is a whole continent with its millions of inhabitants in a state of utter barbarism. The free people of color then who shall be sent from this country to Africa, will in the end, not in two or three years, not perhaps in a century or two, but ultimately,—finally, as surely as civilization and Christianity are destined to triumph over barbarism and idolatry,

redeem her from the misfortunes under which she labors. (Applause.)

But it is not only civilization and Religion, Commerce too, which is at the same time both cause and effect in the great work of the civilization of the human race, will be vastly benefitted by the intercourse which will arise between this continent and other portions of the globe, with Africa; especially in articles which are becoming scarce in other quarters. Those who have looked at the power of production must have perceived, that there is just cause to apprehend that at no distant day, without some new sources of supply of the article of coffee, independent of other articles produced in Africa, there will be a diminution of supply, and the consequence will be either that consumption must cease or be carried on at a vast expense. But I have drank of the coffee produced in Africa. I have also drank of that from the most celebrated countries, Java, Mocha, Rio Janeiro, and I declare to you that according to my poor taste, African coffee, raised in Liberia, is I think equal to any raised in Java, or Mocha. I think it is the best in the world, except that produced in Java and Mocha.

Commerce then will be benefitted, for commerce will be increased not in that article alone but in a great variety of articles. I understand indeed that it is already augmented to a very great extent within the course of a few years. I have been informed that some of those who were engaged in the commerce of Africa are very unwilling to disclose the extent of it and the profits which are made in the prosecution of commercial enterprizes with that country. If then all portions of our population—if all the interests which must engage the human heart and animate us to exertion, are to be

benefitted by the prosecution of the scheme of colonization, tell me, tell me you mad and ultra abolitionists who have been opposing the scheme, what interests, what portion of the population of this country will be injured by the prosecution of the scheme of colonization? (Applause.)

Gentlemen, we are reproached sometimes for having done so little during the thirty years of our operations, for though the Society has existed for some 34 years it is only about thirty years since the first colonists were sent over. Now so far from being reproachable for that, or seeing anything in that to discourage or to dissuade us from the prosecution of the object, it appears to me to be one of the most fortunate circumstances attending it. If we had thrown some fifteen or twenty thousand a year of free people of color upon the coast of Africa, it would have been impossible to provide suitably for them, and they would have perished by famine. They would have exhibited scenes of disorder and confusion which perhaps might have invoked the repressing power of some nations of Europe. But by slow, gradual, and cautious means, feeling our way as we went, taking a firm foundation, doing nothing precipitately, carrying out persons of good character, making establishments for them, laying the foundations for future and accelerated emigration to that country, we have done precisely what we ought to have done if we had had the command of millions of money and hundreds of thousands of tons to transport emigrants to the coast of Africa. But the time has now arrived when some considerable acceleration may be given to the transporting of emigrants from the United States to Africa.

A friend in my eye, who is better informed upon the subject than my-

self or any other person, has told me that if there were adequate means in money and tonnage to transport to Africa all who are willing to go, he would stake his existence upon the fact that ten thousand could be induced to go from this country during the current year. I am not prepared to say that that number would not be greater than it would be expedient to send this year if we had the means; but we must increase the number considerably and go on from year to year increasing the number in proportion as subsistence is raised in Africa, and we have the means of rendering comfortable the emigrants during the first few years after their arrival there. That is the course which things ought to take. In the mean time, if Government shall think proper, through the means of steam packets, or the employment of the Navy, to assist in that article which is the most difficult for the Society to command, the transportation of emigrants to that country, it would be of vast importance to the institution. Let us go on, increase the colonists, multiply the means to sustain them, and after some years, I will not say how long, the colonists will have so increased, commerce will have so augmented, that by the mere commercial marine which will be plying between the shores of that continent and this, vast numbers will be carried out at an expense infinitely less than that hitherto incurred.

Gentlemen of the Society, I have been hitherto considering this institution, in respect to the great object which led to its formation; but I should not have performed my whole duty in the brief address which I propose to make to you on the present occasion, if I limited my observations to that single point. There is another great object connected

with Colonization, and only less important than that, which is to be achieved by the successful colonization of the Western Coast of Africa. I allude to the suppression of the slave trade. (Applause.) Upon that subject I believe all hearts are united—not only all American hearts, but all the hearts of Christendom are united on the propriety of suppressing that odious traffic in slaves with Africa. What is the best means of accomplishing that object? It has been a *desideratum* amongst the statesmen of Europe as well as with some statesmen of our own country. They thought that the best mode of suppressing the slave trade, was by keeping up constantly squadrons on the coast of Africa, to prevent the egress of slaves from that continent to be brought over to any portion of this. That has been in operation now for a number of years. By our treaty with Lord Ashburton—the treaty of Washington I think it is called—we undertook to provide a squadron of some 80 guns, which should assist in the accomplishment of the object, the suppression of the slave trade. It was to endure five years, at the end of which time either of the two contracting parties was left at liberty to put an end to the continuance of the squadron on that coast. But it has so happened, that in spite of all the exertions of the French, and English, and American squadrons upon the coast of Africa, the slave trade has been prosecuted to an extent perhaps not less than prior to any repressing efforts on the part of the three great Powers. A document was laid before us the other day in the Senate of the United States, which shows that in four years 173,000 slaves were carried to the single province of Rio Janeiro, without taking into account the number which may have been carried to the other provinces of the Brazi-



lian Empire, and without any account of the number, which we know, from year to year, have been carried to the Island of Cuba. I believe the Emperor of Brazil has recently entered into some diplomatic arrangements with Great Britain, by which he consents to put a termination to the slave trade—but so had Spain done, yet for years after it was to have terminated, according to the treaty between Great Britain and Spain, it was prosecuted with undiminished vigor in the Island of Cuba. In the first place, the real or the imaginary interests of the Brazilians prompt them to desire the introduction of slaves. I do not know exactly what slaves cost upon the coast of Africa, perhaps some \$8 or \$10 a piece, and in Brazil they cost some hundreds of dollars. A friend the other day said to me, "Why, Mr. Clay, if horses in Virginia were at \$5 a piece, and in New York a hundred dollars, do you think it would be practicable to employ any means whatever to prevent horses from Virginia going to New York?" And if slaves are worth only perhaps one twentieth or one thirtieth part on the coast of Africa of what they are in the Brazils, if there is a disposition to tolerate the slave trade, notwithstanding any treaty stipulation in which, in the face of Christendom, the Emperor of Brazil may feel himself constrained to enter, why, gentlemen of the Society, it will be impossible to suppress it by all the means of any squadrons that may be employed upon the coast. But we have solved the great and interesting question as to the mode in which the slave trade ought to be suppressed. We have shown the most effectual and complete method by which there can be an end put to that abominable traffic, and that is

by Colonization. (Applause.) Three hundred and fifty miles of the Western Coast of Africa are now occupied by colonists sent out from this country, and for the entire extent of that coast there is not a single slave *depot*, not a solitary slave ever exported from any part of that three hundred and fifty miles to any portion of the world whatever; and all this is the result of the labors of the friends of this Society. (Applause.) And any man who will reflect will see that if there is a coast inhabited all along by persons interested in the suppression of the trade—by persons who have sympathy with the race, and who themselves have a knowledge of the afflictions which that race must suffer if carried into South America and sold into slavery, who, prompted by their own interests, are disposed to put an end to the slave trade—if they occupy the margin of the coast, the outlets of the coast, if they hold the door through which, if any slave comes out of Africa he must pass, is it possible for him to go away from Africa to America? Colonization, then, is the only certain, sure, and effectual remedy for the suppression of the slave trade; and if we could prevail—I wish Her Majesty was present, as I find we are honored on this occasion with the presence of the President of the United States, (applause,) and I could address her and him, and persuade them to employ the two or three millions which I suppose are expended per annum in the attempt to suppress the slave trade by the three Powers,—if I could persuade Her Majesty and the Chief Magistrate of our glorious Republic (applause) to lessen the expense of keeping up those squadrons, and divert a portion of the money employed in maintaining them to the prosecution of the business of Colo-

nization, of extending settlements till the whole Western Coast of Africa was occupied by one continuous, uninterrupted line of colonies, there would be a vast saving of money, and what perhaps is not less important, a vast saving of human life. We all know the dangers of that inhospitable coast,—inhospitable, understand me, not in respect to the black race, for our colonists there have suffered less than the colonists of Jamestown and Plymouth Rock suffered during the first thirty years of their existence—but inhospitable to the white man's constitution, it being almost a grave to him. I would not withdraw, but diminish the squadrons, and appropriate the amount thus saved by the diminution to the prosecution of the scheme of Colonization. And if that could be done, as soon as the whole Western Coast of Africa should be lined with colonies, all mankind would exult in that

glorious termination they have all been sighing for and anxious to witness, and the complete suppression of that most odious of all human traffic. (Great applause.)

Gentlemen, I do not know how I have been drawn to say so much as I have done. It has been without any *malice prepense*, I assure you, for I came here not very well, intending but to say a few words. I feel very conscious that I have trespassed too much upon your time, and have prevented you hearing read, what the Secretary will now proceed to do, the report of the proceedings of the Society during the last year.

The honorable gentleman resumed his seat amidst great applause.

The Secretary then read an abstract of the Annual Report of the Society.

### Annual Message of the President of Liberia.

*Gentlemen of the Senate and  
House of Representatives :—*

It is with the greatest pleasure that I again meet you in this new Session of the Legislature. The great purposes for which you have assembled, are first, for the redress of public grievances, and secondly, for making such laws as the general good may require,—therefore the labors in which you are about to engage are of the most important nature, and lie at the very foundation of the future welfare and happiness of the people of this Republic.

In the various and constantly changing avocations of an industrious and intelligent people, it may often become expedient, either to make new laws, or modify or repeal old ones—and for this the constant recurrence of our elections provides, by bringing from all parts of the Republic, legislators, who have learned from the people themselves, the practical operations of old laws, and the necessity of enacting new ones.

You, gentlemen, have come thus immediately from the people, and if you consider their demands, and consult their interests, as you doubtless do, with the blessings of Divine Providence—without

which no undertaking can prosper—you have little cause to fear either for your own honor or the prosperity of the government.

By our inestimable charter, in you are vested the conservation of the rights and interests of the whole people of this Republic. Whatever alteration in the laws the urgency of affairs, or the authority of the people can be conceived to justify, or render expedient—that authority is fully delegated to you; and your constituents look to you, as entrusted with their most sacred rights. I have every confidence that in general, they will cheerfully be governed by whatever your wisdom may ordain. And your zeal for the good of your fellow citizens, and your knowledge and experience in the affairs of the government, inspire, in me, the belief that your present meeting will be productive of lasting benefit to the whole people of our infant state.

According to the concise and comprehensive language of the constitution, it is incumbent on the Executive “to inform the Legislature, from time to time, of the condition of the Republic, and recommend any public measures for their adoption, which he may think expedient.” But before I



proceed directly to the discharge of this duty, permit me, gentlemen, to remark, that every revolving year brings with it new and just occasions for our mutual congratulations and thankfulness to that beneficent Being, who, in his goodness continues to favor us, as a people, with such distinguished mercies,—these should create in us devout feelings of gratitude and praise.

It affords me unspeakable satisfaction to be able to inform you that during the past year, our beloved country has been greatly favored and blessed. An unusual degree of health has been dispensed to its inhabitants;—in no previous year has greater attention been paid to agriculture; and the earth has rewarded the labors of the husbandman with abundant harvests;—the commercial operations of our merchants have been greatly extended. Indeed, the progress of general improvement, throughout the Republic, was never more encouraging than at the present time. Nothing of a very serious character has occurred to disturb the harmony of our citizens at home; or the friendly relations subsisting between this government and foreign powers, or the native tribes around us.

In the midst of these blessings, however, the government have not been altogether exempted from perplexing difficulties and embarrassments.

Some of the circumstances connected with these difficulties and embarrassments I shall recur to hereafter.

I would remark here, however, that we have no just reason to expect that our progress in national prosperity is to be uninterrupted by the evils incident to all governments. Nay, such evils are often wholesome and produce good results. The waters that stagnate, you know, corrupt. The storm that works the ocean, sometimes into a rage, renders it salutary. The rose is not without the thorn. Heaven has given us nothing unmixed.

Difficulties and embarrassments, in public affairs, frequently call forth great virtues and efforts, which would otherwise sleep in the gentle bosom of ease and quietness. They open resources which would be concealed under the inactivity of tranquil times. They arouse and enlighten the citizens. They produce a people of animation, energy, adventure, and greatness. If we consult history we shall find this to have been the case in all ages. Did not the Grecian republics prosper even amid continual warfare! Their prosperity, their power, their splendor grew from the all-animating spirit of war.—

Did not the cottages of shepherds rise into imperial Rome, the nursery of heroes—through the invigorating operation of unceasing wars? Trace back, if you please, the history of the United States of America, and see how those States flourished and grew strong under the difficulties which surrounded, and more than once, threatened the annihilation of some of them. But these very difficulties produced an exceedingly enterprising people, and hardy legions that have subsequently proved themselves equal to any emergency.

I do not wish to be understood, gentlemen, as desiring war—I pray God to deliver us, for ever, from such calamity—or difficulties or embarrassments of any kind, to incite the citizens of Liberia to greater exertion, and to call forth their latent talents and energy. There are some among us, I know, who tremble at every occurrence that in any degree threatens to interrupt the even course of our political affairs. They fear that it may put an inevitable stop to the further progress of the government, and ruin irretrievably our future happiness, and deprive us of those civil and religious blessings which the early veterans in the cause of freedom here, and ourselves have called forth from this once savage land. We may commend the anxiety of such men, however, without praising their judgment. It is true patriotism, boldly to front every difficulty;—and with a determined purpose overcome every obstacle which may oppose our progress; then we shall defend our natural and national rights, with dignity and success. With a firm trust in the Great Governor of the universe, and right on our side, we have nothing to fear.

Gentlemen, with all our quick perception of the existence of public evils, to which many years enjoyment of prosperity and freedom has made us peculiarly sensitive, it is not easy, in a survey of the condition of the Republic, to point to any thing which justly calls for the exercise of the first of your prescribed duties; nothing, certainly, which in any other age or country would be regarded as a “public grievance.”

Imperfections in our system of government, and in its operation, undoubtedly exist; as well as in every other work of human hands; but its guiding and fundamental principles of freedom, justice, and equality, are unchangeably right and true, and are firmly established, not only in our written codes, but in the universal consent and affections of the people. We can have no further controversy as to the great objects and aim of political organi-

zation, or the source of its power. The sovereignty of the people is with us, a familiar, practical truth; and the happiness of the people, the only legitimate end of all civil governments.

Their unlimited and unquestioned power, prompted by an ever active spirit of inquiry and reform; and directed in its exercise by an enlightened perception of their true interest, will be sure to interpose a remedy for public wrongs before they become gross or intolerable.

In a government like ours, peculiarly situated as we are, the necessity and demand for new laws will probably never cease. The advancing tide of civilization and improvement with its attendant complications of interests, and the changes of opinion which result from the lapse of time and the light of experience, will constantly require modification and amendments of our laws to meet the varying exigencies of our condition.

There rests, therefore, upon us the obligation to see that legislation is kept in practical and harmonious conformity with the broad principles of freedom upon which are based our much cherished institutions.

Gentlemen, I have the honor to inform you that since your last meeting the territorial limits of the government have been considerably extended. On the northwest—excepting about ten miles of sea coast—the political jurisdiction of the Republic extends to the entrance of the River She Bar. This jurisdiction—comprehending the notorious Gallinas—has been regularly and formally ceded to this government by the native proprietors. The native title to the soil of several of these tracts have been extinguished—the deeds for which will be laid before you—and negotiations are now pending for the extinction of the native title to the soil of the whole of them. And I apprehend no great difficulty in being able, soon, to bring these negotiations to a favorable termination. The principal difficulty hitherto has been the want of funds to meet the large advances demanded by the chiefs. I am happy to state that this embarrassment has been partially removed. By the *Liberia Packet*, in September last, the Secretary of the Treasury received, from Rev. Wm. McLain, Secretary and Treasurer of the American Colonization Society, an invoice of merchandise, amounting to three thousand eight hundred and thirty-four dollars, to aid this government in the purchase of territory. This assistance is very opportune, and places us under renewed obligations to the friends

of Liberia and of Africa, in the United States. No time shall be lost in applying this amount to the purpose for which it was granted. I beg also, to state here, that I have drawn on our good friend, S. Gurney, Esq., London, for 500*l* of his donation; which bill he writes me, will be honored.

The acquisition of the political jurisdiction over those territories is exceedingly important, in as much as it effectually abolishes the Slave Trade from this part of the African coast, and enables the government to extend a wholesome and beneficial influence over the tribes inhabiting them. And I am happy in being able to inform the Legislature that the influence of the government is already producing salutary results among the aborigines of this district. And not only these—there is evidently a great and important revolution commenced in the condition of our whole native population, which is now rapidly going forward; and only needs, on the part of the government, prompt and encouraging measures for promoting their civilization, to raise them speedily to respectability and usefulness.

This is a subject, in which I know, gentlemen, you are deeply interested and concerned. The citizens of Liberia have kept steadily in view the two great objects of African Colonization—and, I believe, the principal objects which prompted the philanthropists of America in establishing colonies upon this coast,—viz: the closing of the coast of Africa against the ravages of the Slave Trade; and the best means of introducing civilization and christianity among the barbarous tribes of this continent. How far we have succeeded in effecting the first, I leave the world to judge. Of the second, gentlemen, we have yet much to accomplish; and past success, in this great and important work, should incite the government to renewed exertion.

It is very evident that the natives are improving more rapidly at present than at any previous time. There are more instances of laborious industry among them every returning year. It used to be said the natives can never acquire the habit of labor. But facts abundantly disprove this opinion. There are now numerous instances among them of very laborious industry. Some of them not only provide an abundant supply of food for their families, by the labor of their own hands, but have a surplus of several hundred bushels of rice with which, and sundry articles of commerce they are in the habit of collecting, they procure their supply of foreign manufactures. And there can be

no question that the current is setting more strongly in favor of agriculture and other laborious pursuits now, than at any previous period. Notwithstanding these encouraging appearances, however, there is yet much to be accomplished before this people generally can reach the proper standard of rational and immortal beings.

According to the law of nations, this government holds jurisdiction over a territory, comprising at the lowest computation, over two hundred thousand of the aboriginal inhabitants, who are almost in total ignorance of God, his law, and the plan of salvation; and who are also to be taught nearly all the useful branches of human knowledge.

In this view of the subject—may we not ask ourselves, gentlemen, what do we owe them?—and what are our duties in reference to them, in a civil and religious light? This government has assumed the guardianship of these perishing thousands; and they have claims upon us of high importance to them, and to our own character as an enlightened, just, and christian people. In return for what they have yielded to us, they are undoubtedly entitled to expect that we will do all in our power to impart to them the blessings of civilization and religion. They are entitled as citizens of this government, for such they are, to justice in all our dealings with them, to education in the useful arts and sciences, and in the principles and duties of the christian religion. In a word they have a right to expect, and to receive from our civil and religious communities combined, that sort of education and training which will raise them, ultimately, to the enjoyment of all the blessings of civilization; the rights and privileges of freemen; and make them useful citizens of this Republic. This I conceive to be the precise object of the government. And if we fulfil not these duties, which grow naturally out of our connection with, and relation to them, we cannot avoid the imputations—which, by the way, have already, been falsely charged against us—of injustice, unkindness, unfaithfulness to them.

It cannot be denied that the work of civilization is no easy task, and is exceedingly slow in its progress. But when we look back in the pages of history five or six hundred years, and see what was then the state of the Anglo-Saxon race; and whence sprung the most polished and scientific nations of Europe, we find much to encourage us in our efforts to extend the blessings of civilization; and sufficient to convince the most skeptical of the practi-

cability of civilizing the barbarous tribes of this continent.

Gentlemen, these people sustain a peculiar relation to us, and must be civilized,—and the work is ours. They are not to share the fate of the innumerable tribes of North American Indians, which a few centuries since roamed fearlessly in their native forests; but have been swept into oblivion, and are with the generations before the flood—and of others not a trace remains but in tradition, or in the person of some solitary wanderer—the last of his tribe, who hovers like a ghost among the sepulchres of his fathers—a spark still faintly glimmering in the ashes of an extinguished race. But happily the circumstances growing out of our relation and connection with, the aborigines of this country, are altogether different, and cannot, possibly, in the nature of things produce such results. They are not only of the same nature, and of one blood with ourselves—but they are our brethren, our fellow citizens, and of the same race. And must be raised to a condition to partake with us in all the blessings we enjoy; to participate with us in all the affairs of the government; and to be in all respects on an equal footing with other citizens of this Republic. The best informed and more intelligent of our native population are fully sensible of the evils of their present state, and feel that a change in their situation has become necessary, and are strong in the conviction that we sincerely desire their welfare, and they are steadfastly looking to us to relieve them from their present degradation.

The chiefs of several tribes within our jurisdiction have recently expressed to me an earnest wish to have missionaries and schools established among their people, who they say, are anxious to receive instruction. And there is nothing now to prevent the sending of missionaries and the establishment of schools, except what results from the want of pecuniary means. I sincerely hope the time is not distant when this difficulty will be removed, and that the present generation may have lights kindled in all their borders; and that generations to come may be saved from the darkness and wretchedness of their fathers.

This object is truly worthy of the continued labors, and persevering efforts of the government. And I am exceedingly gratified to observe, that there seems to be a most remarkable reciprocity of feeling and union of sentiment on this subject, which plainly indicate that the hand of Heaven is in it—as no power short of this



could ever have produced such a state of things. This is for our encouragement, and it is encouragement enough to induce us to persevere. Indeed, in such circumstances we cannot relax our efforts.

Honor, justice, humanity, and all that make man respectable in the sight of God and men imperiously require us to go forward, in full faith till this work, so auspiciously commenced shall be accomplished.

My enthusiasm, gentlemen, on this subject, and I am not ashamed to acknowledge that I possess it, does not blind me to the difficulties and obstacles which are to be overcome; past experience impresses this on me. But I hold that these difficulties are not insurmountable, and if the government will persevere in its duty, the thing, which we so earnestly desire, will be accomplished.

The pecuniary embarrassments of the government, I am aware, present a serious obstacle to the carrying forward of the work of civilization as rapidly as we could wish. I am also aware that economy in our public expenditures is "the order of the day"—indeed the fashion of the time. This to a certain extent, and in reference to particular objects, is undoubtedly wise and proper. There is, however, a just and politic economy, the result of extended and liberal views; and there is also a false and spurious economy, the offspring of narrow views and little minds. The one is wholesome to the reputation, and to all the true interests of a nation. The other is hollow-hearted and mean, and disgraceful to a nation's character. But, gentlemen, I doubt not your discrimination in this matter; and I also feel that you agree with me as to the importance of the subject on which I have been speaking:—I, therefore, scarcely need invite your attention to its serious consideration, or impress upon you the necessity of adopting measures which will so increase the public finances as will enable you to spare an allowance sufficient, for the purposes and plans of the government, for the improvement of our native population.

I must also be permitted to remark, gentlemen, that it is absolutely essential to the success of our efforts, for the civilization of the natives, that the legislature speedily adopt measures to increase and preserve the reputation and influence of the government in the estimation of this part of our community, and secure for it full confidence and respect; without which your best concerted plans must fail.

You are not ignorant, gentlemen, of the attempts which have recently been made

by some designing, bad men, to create discord and jealousy among the natives, and to incite them to insubordination. And I regret to say, that in one or two instances, they succeeded too well; and at one time created no little concern for the preservation of the authority and influence of the government.

In reference to the natives, this government unquestionably, should be, in its nature kind and mild, but firm and absolute. Laws and regulations must be formed to meet their advancing state, and which would remove the perplexing and provoking differences which so extensively exist between various tribes.—Which evil, in itself, if not effectually cured, will hinder for many years, the progress of every effort which may be made for their benefit.

Another evil, perhaps equally necessary to be provided against, by proper laws and regulations is, their intercourse with unprincipled *civilized*, if I may employ the term, men, who visit them for the purposes of trade. Many of the natives complain, and justly too, that the morals of their youth are corrupted by bad foreigners,—of which we have sad proofs,—as well also as by some of our own people, who trade with them. This is a well known fact, and the cause of incalculable injury to the natives and seriously retards their civilization. As we would hope to promote their welfare, this evil must, in some way, by the wisdom of the Legislature, be removed. It can be done effectually in one way, and in one way only; and that is, as I recommended to the Legislature on a former occasion, "that the government interpose and regulate the manner of conducting trade with the natives."

I am fully sensible of the delicacy of this subject, in the view I am now taking of it, but its importance in order to the attainment of the object of the government, forbids that I should pass it unnoticed: or that the evil should longer continue. Some people are so sordid in their views and affections, that when you come in contact with their pecuniary interests, they lose sight of every other consideration, however high or important; and such doubtless will raise their voice against any measure, which in their opinion, may in any degree, restrict their trading operations. But I dare not be unfaithful to my trust, to my conscience, nor to my God.

I therefore earnestly recommend, that in future all trading establishments connected with the natives, shall be made in reference to the influence which these establishments are expected to exert over the natives—and

that they be made to bear upon every measure which may be put in operation for the civil, moral, and intellectual improvement of the natives.

Gentlemen, I have endeavored faithfully to spread before you, in as concise a manner as I could, the actual condition of a large and very interesting portion of our population.

I have stated, and have aimed to do it faithfully, their just claims upon the government. The plans and measures best adapted to satisfy these claims, have in part been suggested—others, in the course of your deliberations, will doubtless present themselves to you.

The work is now before you, and the scene it presents is certainly adapted to fill and to delight minds bent on doing good.

The view and contemplation of it by such minds, I am sure will never tire. Do good and communicate to all men as ye have opportunity, is a divine command. And every man of real benevolence finds his chief happiness in obeying this command. Therefore to do good and to communicate to those heathen tribes, whom God has placed under our special care, is unquestionably our indispensable duty—a duty than which, I can conceive of none more imperative upon the christian, the philanthropist, and the statesman.

It affords me much pleasure to be able to inform the Legislature that this government has happily succeeded in settling the difficulties which subsisted between Kings Dour-wee and Zio,—and in terminating the cruel war, which, for the last five years, has completely cut off all communication with the interior tribes of that section; and which has produced incalculable sufferings among the inhabitants of a large portion of the Grand and Little Bassa territories.

Kings Dour-wee and Zio have solemnly pledged themselves never again to make war one upon the other, under any circumstance whatever; and in case any dispute or misunderstanding should hereafter arise between them, it shall be referred to this government for adjustment;—whose decision shall be final. I have great pleasure in stating that King Peter Harris, of Grand Bassa, made himself particularly serviceable to the government in bringing about a reconciliation of the above parties. He was, indeed, unremitting in his exertions, and at one time was absent from his home, on a mission to them as an agent of this government, more than six months. We are also indebted to Kings Barguay and Salt-water of Little Bassa, for impor-

tant services rendered our Commissioners while employed in the above negotiations. Nor can I omit here to record my acknowledgments for valuable assistance rendered the government, in this delicate matter, by Hon. Stephen A. Benson, and Lewis K. Crocker, Esq.,—whose indefatigable exertions greatly facilitated the efforts of the government in speedily terminating the war and restoring tranquility to the country. I am gratified in being able to state that the expense incurred by the government, in settling this war, was partly met by the patriotic and liberal minded citizens of Grand Bassa County, by voluntary contributions. The balance was paid from the public Treasury,—which amount you will find entered in the Treasurer's accounts.

I regret to have to inform you, gentlemen, that the same success has not attended similar efforts of the government in other quarters. In the latter part of June last, at the earnest solicitation of a number of the Chiefs, Veys, Golahs and Deys, I appointed a Commission, consisting of three gentlemen, to visit the Vey Country for the purpose of arranging and settling the disputes existing between the several parties occupying that territory,—and if possible, put an end to the war, which was then, and is still being vigorously prosecuted between a part of the Vey and Golah tribes. But I am sorry to say, after an absence of several weeks, the Commissioners returned without being able to accomplish all that was desired or anticipated. The causes of their failure you will find fully set forth in their report which will be laid before you. I beg, however, to recommend that further, and immediate efforts be made to settle those disputes and difficulties; and terminate this war.

Knowing as we do, what violent resentments and incurable animosities these discord generally generate, and how they are apt to exasperate and inflame the contending parties, and prompt them to acts of the greatest cruelty,—you are called upon, and required, gentlemen, by indispensable obligations to Almighty God, and to your fellow citizens, to use all the means in your power, for stopping the further effusion of blood, and for averting the impending calamities that threaten the inhabitants of those territories.

A messenger is now here from the Chiefs of the Vey country soliciting the interposition of this Government in settling the disputes and wars, which are represented as producing great distress among the people. I beg, gentlemen, that you will give this subject early attention, that the messenger may be dispatched as

early as possible, with such communications as you may direct to be transmitted to the chiefs.

I have the honor herewith to lay before you, for your consideration a communication I received a few weeks since from the chiefs of Timbo, asking the protection of this government, and to be received within its jurisdiction by the annexation of the whole of their territory to the Republic,—and requesting that one Will Buckler—who, some years ago settled among them, but has since succeeded in collecting around him a large force, composed principally of strangers, and now threatens the extermination of the original inhabitants, and who has recently committed, with impunity, several cruel murders in the country—be moved from the territory.

I beg also to submit to your consideration the propriety of adopting measures to relieve the authorities and people of Grand Bassa from the annoyances of Fisherman Grando, who, by some means, has obtained an influence in that country—though himself a Pickaniny Cess man,—which he exerts improperly by creating difficulties and disturbances, sometimes of a very serious character among the people: which greatly interrupt friendly intercourse, and not a little retard the progress of civilization among the inhabitants of that district.

During the past year I had an interview with Grando, at his town, and explained to him the folly of his course, and the pernicious effects of his conduct, not only upon his own people, but upon the happiness and prosperity of the people of the whole country. I assured him that the government could not longer tolerate such conduct; and, unless he changed his course, legal proceedings would be instituted against him. To all of which he listened attentively:—and, with seeming penitence, readily admitted the error of his course, and the wrongs he had been guilty of, and promised never again to interrupt the peace and harmony of the people.

I had scarcely left the country, however, before his evil genius got the better of him; and he has since been as mischievous as ever—and has recently been guilty of sundry gross infractions of the law, and of using threats against the local authorities of Grand Bassa County.

This man Grando has given the government more trouble decidedly, than any other headman, or chief within the limits of the Republic. He has never yet been made properly to atone for the murder of

Governor Finley, and rather thinks himself above the laws—but the time has fully arrived that he be taught his obligations to the government; and convinced of the majesty of the laws.

Gentlemen, in connection with this subject, and as a means of counteracting Grando's baneful influence, and checking his bad practices, I would suggest that the Legislature authorise the establishment of a settlement at the Cove, near his town—which will bring him under the immediate eye and control of the authorities, and which will also have a good effect upon his people by bringing them more closely in contact with civilized habits.—There are other considerations, gentlemen, of a commercial nature, which seem to favor the establishment of a settlement at that place. Its commercial advantages, as a convenient landing place especially, are generally admitted; and the idea of forming a settlement there to secure these, is by no means new. And I think no difficulty need be apprehended in carrying out the measure proposed. Indeed many of the citizens of Edina, Bassa Cove, and Bexley, have expressed to me a desire to locate there, and will do so immediately provided the government will make them small grants of land, and extend to them certain assistance specified in a communication addressed to me on this subject—which I have the honor herewith to lay before you—and which I beg to recommend to your favorable consideration.

Gentlemen, during your recess I have used my best endeavors for the preservation of harmony and friendly relations with all nations, by encouraging the intercourse of foreigners—without distinction of country—and by extending to them every facility in my power for conducting trade with the citizens of this Republic:—and it would have been a source of much gratification to me, if the conduct of all those traders had been such as to enable me to assure you that, on their part, a similar desire existed to maintain a good understanding with the government.—Such, however, in every instance, has not been the case;—and I am pained to have to inform the Legislature that unworthy attempts have been made by one or two of these traders to alienate the affections of certain native tribes within the jurisdiction of this Republic—to induce them to disavow their obligations to this government—and to incite them to insubordination; and indeed, encourage them to actual hostilities. Means were adopted, however, as far as possible, to counteract these pernicious influences—to preserve the attach-



ment of the natives—and to maintain the influence and authority of the government over them. But, gentlemen, to obviate the consequences of a repetition of such practices, the passage of a law providing adequate punishment for such offences may be necessary.

I am also sorry to have to say that some difficulties have arisen in regard to the operation of the law of the Republic regulating Navigation, Commerce, and Revenue.

One Mr. David Murray, the agent of Messrs. Laurie Hamilton & Co., London, a few months since landed a quantity of merchandise at certain points, on our coast, in direct violation of said law; at the same time informing the inhabitants that he had received express instructions from his employers not to acknowledge the authority of the Liberian government over said points of territory, and that the government, or its officers, if they thought proper to assume the responsibility, might seize his vessel and the goods thus landed.

Upon this information from the officers of the revenue—who understanding the policy of the government, and anxious themselves to avoid any collision with British merchants by using compulsory measures to compel obedience to the laws, communicated the facts to the Treasury Department, and asked to be instructed as to the course they should pursue—I addressed a note to Captain Murray stating to him my earnest desire to avoid the necessity of seizing his property; and calling his attention to an interview I had had with him, in the early part of the year, on the subject of the jurisdiction of this government, &c.

At which time he assured me that in future he would respect the laws of the Republic, and would give no further cause of complaint. In reply to which, I received from Captain Murray on the 23d of October the following:

“Sir: In answer to your letter of the 3d inst, I beg to say that I am instructed by Messrs. Laurie Hamilton & Co., not to pay any duties on goods to be landed on the Kroo coast, they having laid their claim to exemption therefrom before Viscount Palmerston, and from a copy of a letter received by them bearing the date 2d July, 1850, Commodore Fanshawe had been instructed to institute enquiries into the matter, and he may be expected up in all this month for that purpose.”

It had already been intimated to me that representations had been made to Her Majesty's Government respecting the exercise of jurisdiction, by this government, over certain territories on our leeward

coast, and that the Liberian authorities, in said communications, were accused of imposing unreasonable and unjust restrictions upon British commerce; and that Commodore Fanshawe would probably visit Liberia soon to ascertain the facts in relation to these representations. In view of this and other considerations, and especially to convince British merchants of our desire to cultivate and maintain a good understanding with them—I informed Captain Murray that compulsory measures would not be resorted to until I had had the honor of an interview with the Commodore; in the mean time, the government would hold him responsible for the duties accruing on all goods which he might land within its jurisdiction: and that it would not be difficult for me to prove, in the most convincing manner, to Commodore Fanshawe, as well by solid reasons, as by the authority of the best authors, who have written on the law of nations: and the judgment of civilized states in general—the right of this government to exercise sovereignty over the territory in question.

Upon what grounds Messrs. Laurie Hamilton & Co., claim exemption from paying duties on goods landed on what they term the Kroo coast, or at any point within this Republic, I am not fully informed. With respect to the said Kroo Coast, Captain Murray is well aware that that territory is within the jurisdiction of this Republic—that the right of soil and the political jurisdiction over it were obtained for a just and valuable consideration, and that it is held by titles as fair and unequivocal as any human property can be held; and that the aboriginal inhabitants, of that territory voluntarily recognized their allegiance to this government. I am aware that attempts have been made there, as well as at other points within our jurisdiction, to induce the native chiefs to disavow their formal and solemn conventions with this government—and to accuse the Liberian authorities of misrepresentation and fraud in treating with them for lands.

But I thank God, as far as I know, at our hands, gentlemen, the natives have no just cause of complaint. Would that all with whom they have had to do could say as much. But ah! how solemn the reflection, that on the great day of retribution, what thousands of these poor benighted heathen will appear at the bar of judgment to arraign those, who would attach to the Liberian Authorities frauds, of which they themselves have been guilty. But I entertain the hope and belief that the people of Liberia will then appear in the

whiteness of innocence—and that they will not only be free from all accusations of injustice to these their unfortunate and degraded brethren, but that the testimonials of their acts of justice, kindness, and benevolence towards them will plead the cause of their uprightness in all their dealings with them, as it is now authenticated by records upon earth.

On the 11th ultimo, I received a dispatch from Commodore Fanshawe, informing me that he had been directed by his government to visit Liberia for the purpose of conferring with the authorities respecting the complaints which have been made by British merchants, who occupy trading establishments on the coast of Liberia; but in consequence of circumstances of considerable importance on the southern part of his command, he could not at an early period visit Monrovia in person—but to avoid delay he had deputed Commander Patten, the senior officer of the Division of Her Majesty's cruisers on the north coast, to confer with this government on these matters.

Under cover, from Commodore Fanshawe, I received the same day a dispatch from the Right Honorable Viscount Palmerston, Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, calling the attention of this government to the said complaints of British merchants engaged in trade to the Coast of Africa, who represent that Regulations have been established by this government, the tendency and effect of which is greatly to obstruct and cripple the commercial operations of British merchants.

His Lordship has been pleased to enumerate in said dispatch the principal complaints, which have been addressed to Her Majesty's Government by British merchants engaged in trade on the Liberian coast. Some of these complaints are founded upon certain provisions of the law of the Republic, regulating Navigation, Commerce, and Revenue—the tendency and effect of which, they say, greatly obstruct and cripple the commercial operations of British subjects.

Others are mere fabrications—vile accusations without the slightest shadow of truth to sustain them—charging the government with adopting measures and restrictions, which I may confidently say never existed, except in the imagination of some of the servants whom these merchants have employed on the Liberian coast, who, doubtless, have been making, from time to time, to their employers, these gross misrepresentations.

1st. Of the Navigation, Commerce, and

Revenue law, passed December 26th, 1849, they complain that no foreign vessel is allowed to unload at any ports except Monrovia, Marshall, Grand Bassa, and Sinoe—that the import duties to be levied under said Act are in many cases excessive, in regard to some articles amounting to 30 per cent.; and that those duties are levied, not on the cost price merely, but on the value realized by the actual sale of the goods; that no goods shall be admitted without the production of a declaration containing minute details not usually required in any other country, as to their origin, their destination, and their nature; and that although the 17th section of the 4th article of said law authorizes the Collector of Customs to relax the stringent provisions of the 2d section, in regard to the four ports of entry, by allowing him to grant official permits to land goods at Factories owned by citizens of Liberia on any part of the Liberian coast; this facility is not afforded to British subjects, and that thus an advantage is given to Liberian citizens, which is unjustly and injuriously withheld from British subjects.

These, gentlemen, will of course claim your attention, and I doubt not but that you will give them serious consideration, and will willingly remove every restriction which either unjustly or unnecessarily obstructs the commercial intercourse of British, or the merchants of any other country.

2ndly. It is represented, by these said merchants, to Her Majesty's Government—that the Liberian Government exercises sovereignty over territory fraudulently obtained from the native proprietors—that it designates the aboriginal inhabitants of the coast as aliens, and endeavors to prevent British subjects from transacting business with them, except through the medium of citizens of Liberia—meaning, I suppose, those who immigrated from the United States;—that it is required that a license should be taken for each trading station at a cost of 270*l*.;—That the Liberian authorities monopolize the market for two days, in order to get the advantage of whatever demand may happen to exist for Tobacco, Gun-powder, Muskets, Crockery, Salt, Rum and Soap;—that all purchases of land or houses made by foreigners are ordered to be null and void;—and that American traders ridicule the regulations and restrictions of the Liberians, and tell them—British traders—plainly, that if they are driven to abandon the trade, they will at once take it up.

Is it not astonishing that men in their senses should make such representations,



so totally void of truth, to Her Majesty's Government?

Captain Patten, of Her Majesty's Brig *Hound*, arrived here on the 18th ultimo, and entered immediately upon the investigation of the various complaints of Messrs. Laurie Hamilton & Co., London, who appear to be the principal complainants, and who certainly have indulged unjust and unwarrantable charges and accusations against the Liberian Authorities.

It is possible, indeed I will not doubt, that those gentlemen, acting upon statements made to them by their agent, believed that they were making correct and truthful representations to Her Majesty's Government. It is to be regretted, however, that they so readily gave credence to such statements—without, apparently, giving themselves the least trouble to ascertain the real facts of the case.

Full explanations of the several items of complaints were furnished to Captain Patten; and every facility afforded to enable him to examine thoroughly the invidious charges and imputations that have been preferred and insinuated against the Government and People of Liberia. No one could be more particular and minute in the investigation of the charges and complaints referred to, than was Captain Patten.—And I have great satisfaction in being able to inform the Legislature, that he expressed himself fully satisfied and convinced that gross misrepresentations have been made to Her Majesty's Government, in which great injustice has been done the Authorities and people of this Republic; and distinctly condemned the course of Captain Murray in resisting the laws of this Government.

Captain Patten, however, without naming any particular provision of the law regulating Navigation, Commerce, and Revenue, intimated a wish that the Legislature would reconsider some of the sections of said law, which he considered rather restrictive, and would extend to British traders every possible facility for conducting business with the citizens of the Republic.

I assured him that the Government and people of Liberia entertained the most friendly feelings towards British subjects; and that the Legislature would not hesitate to rescind or amend any existing regulation—which may be done without seriously prejudicing the interests of the Government—that can in any respect obstruct or cripple British commerce. The various correspondence on the subject of the complaints referred to above, will be laid before you.

Gentlemen, permit me to remark here,

that it is the duty on articles of merchandise specified in an Act entitled "An Act to raise a Revenue," the sale of which the Government monopolizes, that foreigners consider excessive; I beg, therefore, particularly to recommend that said Act be wholly repealed, and that you adopt other measures for supplying an adequate Revenue.

With respect to trading establishments along our coast, whether owned by citizens or foreigners, I am still of opinion that a license should be obtained from the Government, for which a reasonable and liberal sum shall be paid, to be applied exclusively to the promotion of civilization and education among the aboriginal inhabitants.

I beg also to recommend that the amount realized from the sale of licenses under the 1st and 3d sections of the 8th Article of the Navigation, Commerce, and Revenue law, be granted to the several corporations for the improvements of streets, &c., in their respective townships.

Gentlemen, in view of the primary importance of providing every facility for carrying the laws into prompt and faithful execution, and to render the administration of justice as convenient to the people as may consist with their present circumstances—I cannot omit, once more, to recommend to your serious consideration the Judiciary system of the Republic. No branch of our political organization is more interesting than this to the public happiness; and to none can those improvements which have been suggested by experience be more beneficially applied.

The compilation of the laws of the Republic, as authorized at your last session, I regret to say, has not been accomplished to the extent of your wishes. I ask the appointment of a committee of the legislature to examine the work, as far as it is gone, and to report upon its correctness, and the circumstances which have delayed its completion.

The importance of agriculture, as an efficient contributory to the welfare and prosperity of the human family, and especially of the people of Liberia, is so fully recognized and understood, that I deem it quite unnecessary for me to urge upon you, at any length, its claims to all the aid and encouragement it may be in your power to give to every well directed effort for its improvement. It cannot be doubted that the cultivation of the earth, with other branches of rural economy, supply the vital principle—the very life blood—to every other department of human industry.

Among the most successful of the vari-

ous measures adopted, in other countries, to give impulse to agricultural improvements, are agricultural societies—and I could wish to see such societies established in every part of this Republic.

But, in my opinion, a central agricultural association is at present particularly needed. One that would be able to extend its beneficial influences so generally as to awaken and keep alive throughout the country an active interest in its proceedings. Such an association would certainly deserve, in a liberal degree, your countenance and aid.

Many of you, gentlemen, are from agricultural districts, and are entitled, far better than myself, to interpret the wishes of those engaged in agricultural pursuits; therefore, on the present occasion, I have only to say, that whatever measures you may adopt for advancing the interests of agriculture shall have my ready and cheerful concurrence.

With respect to common schools, and the importance of extending the means of education—I feel that I cannot do better than to invite your attention to what I had the honor of communicating to the Legislature, on this subject, at its last session. I am quite sensible of the feeling of the legislature with regard to the extension of the facilities of education; and I exceedingly regret, gentlemen, the pecuniary disability which still exists; and which alone, I am sure, prevents your doing all that you desire to do for the promotion of useful knowledge. It is, however, a source of much gratification to know that our friends abroad—especially in the United States—in this respect, are interested in our behalf. Besides the valuable assistance we are receiving, in the education of the youth of this Republic, from various missionary societies in the United States: you are doubtless aware, gentlemen, that an association has been formed in Boston, United States, and has been chartered by the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, for the purpose of receiving and managing the funds, and the general scope and plan of a college in Liberia. A member of the corporation in a letter to me dated June last, says: "We shall soon need a free communication of your views on this subject, of education, on all points that may occur to you.

It is obvious that a charter from your government will be needed for the proposed college, with suitable ground for such buildings as may be required, and such patronage and aid towards the erection of buildings as the government may be able to bestow. We shall of course do nothing

more than collect and invest funds, until we receive a communication of your mind, on the subject. Whether the instructors shall be appointed by our Board of Trustees, with the concurrent approval of your government, or by the latter alone; or by the corporation to be chartered in Liberia—are questions which you will consider and favor us with your minds." In reply to this communication I have assured the gentleman that every facility that this government can afford for carrying out the important objects of his board, will readily be granted; I, at the same time, intimated to him the embarrassed state of our public finances, and that but little, if any, pecuniary assistance could, at present, be rendered by this government; but that I would call the attention of the Legislature to the subject, and communicate to him the result of your deliberation. I therefore ask an expression of the Legislature on the points, suggested above, for transmission to the Board of Trustees.

The experience of another year has but strengthened the conviction entertained and expressed in my address to the Legislature at its last session; that our present militia system was rapidly tending to utter disorganization. It is with much regret that I feel obliged to say, that in my opinion all hope of reviving or sustaining it in its present form may as well be abandoned at once. It is evident that circumstances demand its entire reorganization upon other principles and with essentially different features. My own sense of the importance of establishing, cherishing, and supporting a strong and efficient militia force, is undiminished—not, however, that I advocate war, to this my feelings are decidedly averse; and it is in view of this, that I advocate the embodying of a militia. Surrounded as we are, gentlemen, by heathen tribes whose ruling passion is war; I look upon the military organization of this government as the most efficient anti-war measure that can possibly be adopted. But how to organize such a system, as will answer the ends contemplated, in the present state of popular feeling on the subject, is to me a problem of difficult solution. I must confess, gentlemen, my own inability to suggest a plan that is satisfactory to myself, or that I would take the responsibility in offering to your consideration. I recommend the subject to your attention, and pledge my ready concurrence in the adoption of any system that shall give the promise of being an improvement upon the present one.

Gentlemen, I have the honor to inform you that your resolution, of the 24th December last, authorizing the removal of the cannon from Central Fort to Fort Norris Battery, has been carried into effect; as yet, however, these cannon have not been mounted. The carriages are being prepared, and it is hoped to have them in a short time ready for use. I regret very much that we were not able to have the carriages constructed of more durable materials, as cast iron for instance, which would relieve the government of the almost annual expense of supplying new ones, or keeping wooden ones which rapidly decay, exposed as they necessarily are to the weather, in repair. I hope that the Legislature will, as soon as it may find it convenient, to do so, order iron carriages for all our stationary cannon.

In this connection I beg to call your attention to the dilapidated condition of nearly all the gun carriages on our frontier settlements.

Hitherto, the citizens of those settlements, with the exception of a very little aid, a year or two ago, from the government, have met the expense of the repairs of those carriages. But for some time, feeling themselves in no danger, they have neglected the repairs, and now look to the government to relieve them from this tax.

I scarcely need remind you, gentlemen, that the fiscal affairs of the government will demand your serious attention. In the early part of the year the most flattering anticipations were indulged of relieving the government from its pecuniary embarrassments. No one I believe entertained a doubt on the subject: and I fondly cherished the hope of being able, at this session of the Legislature, to congratulate you on the efficiency of your present revenue system. But, gentlemen, by reference to the Treasurer's accounts, you will observe that there still remains a balance against the government of \$36,000: of which amount, about two thirds are due to foreigners. I sincerely hope that the Legislature will adopt measures that will enable the Secretary to discharge speedily these claims. Necessarily a great proportion of the public resources is derived from duties on imports, and, as you are already aware, various circumstances, which were impossible to foresee and pro-

vide against, have concurred, during the year, to embarrass the officers of the customs, in collecting the tariff dues; and in some instances large quantities of merchandise have been landed on the Liberia coast, upon which the duties could not be secured, and of consequence, produced a serious deficiency in the receipts anticipated from that source.

The Secretary of the Treasury has been directed to lay before you, at an early day, an estimate of the appropriations necessary for the ensuing year: and also accounts, in detail, of the receipts and expenditures for the fiscal year ending 30th September last. The following is a concise statement of the accounts the Secretary will lay before you, viz:

*	*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*	*

In conformity with a resolution of the Legislature adopted the 28th of December last, authorizing the appointment of auditors of public accounts, &c., &c.—I appointed Messrs. Warner and Hicks to that duty. They have been laboriously engaged for some months, in examining the vouchers and accounts of all transactions at the Treasury Department, since the new organization; and they will have ready in a few days, to be laid before you a full report of their doings.

There are other matters, gentlemen, that deserve consideration, and to which I shall take occasion, during your present meeting, to invite your attention, by special communication.

Gentlemen, I now commend you to the source of all wisdom and knowledge; and I pray that God will guide and direct all your deliberations to His praise, and to the happiness and prosperity of the people of this Republic, and of Africa in general. Feeling, as I most certainly do, that you will avoid all hasty, and ill-considered projects; and that you will avail yourselves of the current experience of the times; and that that experience will not suffer delay, in its application, in consequence of any obstinacy in the exercise of delegated power—I beg to assure you that your labors, to promote the general good, will receive from me the most prompt and decided co-operation.

J. J. ROBERTS.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,  
Monrovia, December 3d, 1850.

### Receipts of the American Colonization Society,

From the 20th of February to the 20th of March, 1851.

#### MAINE.

Bath—From the members of the  
"Auxiliary Colonization Soc.

of Bath," \$79; S. G. Clark,  
\$5, G. F. Patten, \$4, by Free-  
man Clark, Esq., Treasurer..

88 00



## VERMONT.

*Middlebury*—Hon. Wm. Nash,  
(with \$20 heretofore paid, to  
constitute himself a life mem-  
ber of the Am. Col. Soc.,) by  
Daniel Baldwin, Esq..... 10 00

## MASSACHUSETTS.

By Rev. G. M. Pratt:—  
*Worcester*—Hon. J. Waldo Lin-  
coln, to constitute himself a  
life member Am. Col. Soc..... 30 00  
*Whitinsville*—Wm. Kendall, Ed-  
ward Armsby, each \$30, to  
constitute themselves life mem-  
bers of the Am. Col. Soc..... 60 00  
*New Bedford*—David R. Greene,  
Wm. R. Rodman, John Avery  
Parker, Job Eddy, Francis  
Hathaway, each \$30, to con-  
stitute themselves life members  
of the Am. Col. Soc..... 150 00

240 00

## CONNECTICUT.

By Rev. John Orcutt:—  
*New Haven*—S. E. Foote, \$20;  
Cash, \$10; Dr. T. Wells, E.  
Lee, O. F. Winchester, J. E.  
English, Wm. S. Charmley, J.  
A. Blake, H. Farnam, Dr. W.  
H. Russell, Wm. W. Holley,  
Mrs. C. Whitmore, Prof. Sil-  
liman, N. H. Gaston, E. W.  
Blake, each \$5; H. Whitney,  
Dr. E. H. Bishop, E. Atwater,  
H. Olmstead, Mrs. Elisha Peck,  
Col. P. Blake, C. Atwater, H.  
Hooker, G. Mansfield, C. B.  
Doolittle, M. Merriman, Cash,  
J. Winship, each \$3; F. S.  
Parker, J. B. Robertson, G. B.  
Rich, H. Camp, L. Griswold,  
S. Hayes, D. Wilcoxson, Mrs.  
Elisha Hull, H. Ives, D. W.  
Buckingham, C. Jerome, each  
\$2; J. Atwater, A. N. Skinner,  
Mrs. M. Hillhouse, A. Kil-  
born, H. Stevens, Rev. W. T.  
Eustis, P. Hoadley, Rev. S.  
D. Phelps, Mrs. Phelps, G.  
Treadway, S. B. Jerome, A.  
S. Grant, J. Dikeman, J. A.  
Humphrey, J. S. Atwater, H.  
B. Allen, Mrs. E. Bowditch,  
Dr. S. Mallett, A. Bryan,  
S. M. Stone, S. N. Foster,  
E. Hungerford, Two Friends,  
J. Thompson, Mrs. Merrick,  
Miss N. E. Morse, Dea. A.  
Treat, Cash, J. Ritter, Cash,  
Capt. Montague, Dr. C. H.

Skiff, each \$1; S. Wheeler,  
Dr. W. G. Munson, C. A.  
Baer, Wm. J. Benton, each 50  
cts.; Two Children, 13 cts.—  
\$190 13—to constitute Rev.  
Harry Croswell, D. D., Rev.  
E. L. Cleaveland, D. D., Rev.  
S. W. S. Dutton, Rev. Edward  
Strong, Rev. Wm. T. Eustis  
and Henry White, Esq., life  
members of the Am. Col. Soc. 190 13  
*Westville*—E. Sperry, \$2; con-  
tribution in Cong'l Church, \$7.53;  
contribution in Methodist Epis-  
copal Church, \$3.83; contribu-  
tion in St. James' Church, \$3. 16 36  
*Farmington*—H. Whittlesey, \$2. 2 00  
*Enfield*—W—w, \$5..... 5 00  
*Hartford*—Hon. T. S. Williams,  
\$50; Mrs. L. H. Sigourney,  
\$25 in full to constitute herself  
a life member of the Am. Col.  
Soc.; Rev. Dr. Wheaton, H.  
Huntington, Alfred Smith, A.  
Dunham, L. C. Ives, each \$20;  
D. Watkinson, Ex-Governor  
Trumbull, F. Parsons, Esq.,  
Collins & Brothers, Howe &  
Mather, each \$15; Bishop  
Brownell, Wm. T. Lee, A.  
W. Butler, D. P. Crosby, D.  
F. Robinson, Calvin Day, J.  
M. Bunce, J. Warburton, E.  
N. Kellogg, Capt. E. Fowler,  
E. T. Smith, Elisha Colt, Cash,  
Miss H. B. Hart, Chas. Sey-  
mour, each \$10; J. B. Homer,  
\$13; Chas. Hosmer, Cash, Dr.  
H. A. Grant, J. L. Boswell,  
D. Hillyer, T. M. Allyn, Dea.  
Wm. W. Turner, C. Nichols,  
Clark & Church, C. C. Ly-  
man, C. Ives, J. Toucey, Esq.,  
G. M. Welch, C. H. Northam,  
Cash, Cash, Samuel Coit,  
S. Spencer, H. Keney, S.  
L. Loomis, T. Wadsworth,  
Fuller & Burnham, M. W.  
Chapin, J. F. Judd, each \$5;  
W. Woodbridge, \$4; A. Day,  
G. W. Moore, Hungerford &  
Cone, W. T. Hooker, J. W.  
Bull, S. Tuttle & Sons, N.  
Wheaton, E. G. Ripley, H.  
Seymour, H. H. Barbour,  
Esq., E. Fessendon, each \$3;  
E. Goodwin, O. Allen, Chas.  
Weeks, R. S. Seyms, G. Fox,  
H. French, Dea. J. B. Gilbert,  
H. Fitch, R. Dennis, Cash, T.  
Williams, R. G. Talcott, T. D.  
& S. Boardman, B. Hudson, J.  
G. Mix, Cash, J. F. Orcutt, C.

Adams, W. Harris, E. K. Root, Rev. G. Robins, D. Buck, E. Ripley, Esq., V. Cornish, H. L. Porter, J. Brown, Geo. Burnham, Prof. Brocklesby, Dr. J. S. Butler, J. W. Danforth, C. Seymour, Jr., Mrs. C. W. Thrall, each \$2; S. G. Savage, H. L. Bidwell, C. Stone, B. Sage, Rev. A. C. Baldwin, J. C. Burgess, S. P. Kendall, A. R. Skinner, A. Willard, Rev. Dr. Robbins, A. Friend, E. B. Hull, J. Tisdale, H. Freeman, J. P. Foster, C. Glazier, Cash, T. Steele, H. Benton, Cash, B. Starkweather, B. Rogers, R. Gillett, C. Benton, J. A. Butler, S. Chapman, W. Thrall, A. Saunders, P. D. Stillman, J. Langdon, F. Fellows, Esq., R. G. Drake, Esq., G. S. Lincoln, C. L. Lincoln, Seth King, Cash, Cash, Dr. S. W. Hart, M. Lord, F. Durand, W. Savage, J. Bolter, A. Farwell, A. Hosford, J. H. Goodwin, H. W. Hutchinson, Miss Draper, J. H. Trumbull, Esq., J. Schue, M. D., Prof. Stewart, Rev. J. A. Hempstead, L. Clerc, A. Gill, Wm. H. Kelsey, Ely & Co., W. W. Roberts, S. Andrus, S. T. Gordon, E. S. Hamilton, each \$1; Dr. A. W. Barrows, 50 cts.; Collection in Methodist Episcopal Church, \$6 50. To constitute Rev. Joel Hawes, D. D., Rev. Walter Clarke, Dea. Wm. W. Turner, and James B. Hosmer, life members of the Am. Col. Soc.....	700 00
Stonington—Collection in the 2d Congregational Church, by Rev. Wm. Clift, Pastor.....	30 00
Bridgeport—Peter T. Barnum, Esq., by Rev. J. Morris Pease,	50 00
	993 49

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Washington City—L. Ward, Esq., donation.....	1 00
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## VIRGINIA.

Salem, Roanoke county—John B. J. Logan, Esq., annual donation of \$10, for 1850 and 1851,	20 00
Amherst county—From Daniel, Mary R., and Randolph Blain, children of Rev. S. W. Blain,	2 60
Bath county—From R. Spring, by Rev. Mr. Blain.....	2 17
Rockingham county—From Mrs.	

G. H. Mathews, by J. H. Fitzgerald.....	3 00
Lexington—Prof. G. E. Dabney, contribution for 1850.....	10 00
Millford Mills—From a friend to the cause.....	50 00
Richmond—Mrs. Rev. R. B. Castleton.....	5 00
	92 77

## NORTH CAROLINA.

By Rev. Jesse Rankin:—

Lexington—A. R. Witherington, H. Brower, each \$1.....	2 00
Greensborough—Dr. D. C. Mebane	2 00
Allemanee county—Holt and Caragan's Factory—Wm. A. Caragan, E. M. Holt, John Andrew, Thomas Farish, each \$1; Lewis Boone, W. C. Robinson, each 50 cts.; W. Zacary, Jas. Reeves, A. Sharp, each 25 cts.	5 75
Orange co.—Newlin's Factory—John Newlin, \$2; James Newlin, J. B. Randleman, each \$1; H. Gilder, Jonathan Newlin, George Guthrie, each 50 cts....	5 50
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